

"We have
a vision...
a deep
faith"

5 Statements on why join the
**SOCIALIST PARTY-SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
FEDERATION**

by

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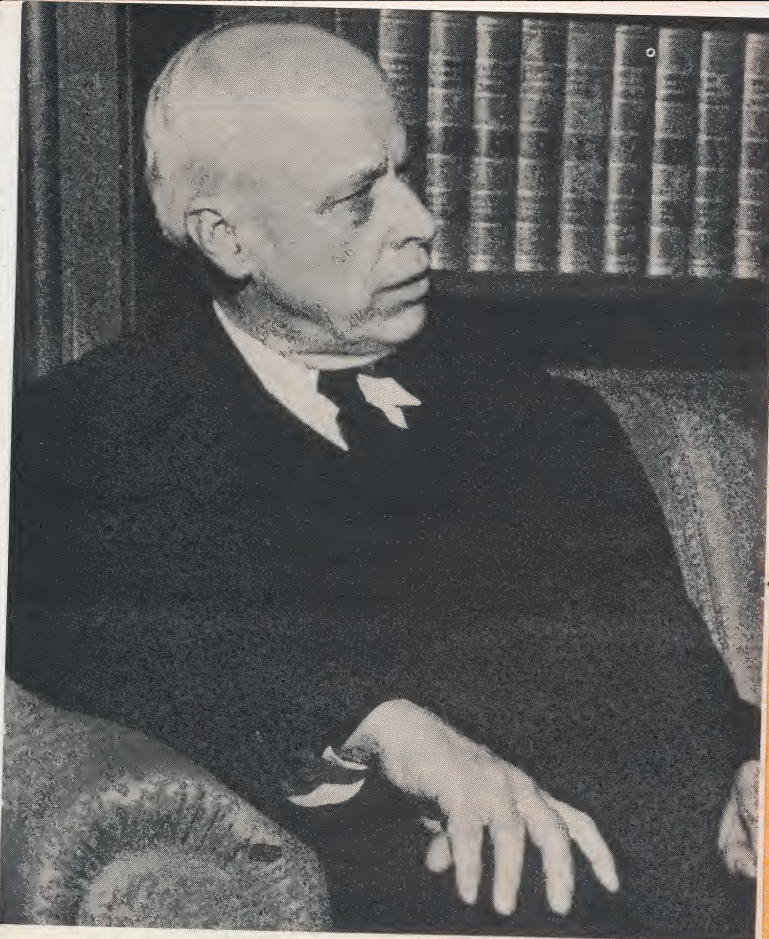
MURRAY KEMPTON

With an introduction by **NORMAN THOMAS**

The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation is the organized expression of democratic socialism in the United States. Founded in 1901, it was known simply as the Socialist Party until January, 1957 when the change in name resulted from a merger with the Social Democratic Federation. In 1958 still another group of democratic socialists, the members of the Independent Socialist League, joined the party. The SP-SDF is the sole U.S. affiliate of the Socialist International, the body to which most of the major socialist and labor parties of the world belong.

Long identified with the names of two great Americans, Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party has made many widely acknowledged contributions to American life. With the onset of a new period of political soulsearching, many Americans are turning again toward democratic socialism as a source of new ideas, inspiration, guidance. The five writers in this brochure are themselves new members of the SP-SDF.

This leaflet is published as part of a membership recruitment drive by the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. To translate the ideals expressed in this folder into a living reality . . . to work effectively for a world without war . . . to help achieve a truly democratic and human society, join the SP-SDF today.



INTRODUCTION BY NORMAN THOMAS

IT IS an honor to be asked to write a brief introduction to this brochure. In it are to be found or suggested some thoughtful and even eloquent answers to questions that I am often asked. "Why Socialism? Isn't its work mostly done now that we have a welfare state? What about the Socialist Party? We don't hear much about it in elections." I welcome for myself and recommend to you the personal testimony of fellow Socialists whom I highly honor concerning the meaning and value of socialism to themselves and to you.

You will agree, I think, that our affluent society exists like an island in a sea of the world's bitter—and remediable—poverty; that within that island are pockets of inexcusable poverty; that its rewards are still determined too largely by breed and greed, rather than need and deed; that in its frantic prosecution of the cold war we have not found security, much less true peace. We prize our democracy, but thus far it has not conquered our sense of alienation or made most of us true participants in the politics and economics on which the well-being—no, the very life of mankind depends.

It is for me a simple statement of fact that I know of no political group in America that is working harder

or more hopefully than the SP-SDF to face these facts, and to find the answers to our problems in new proposals inspired by its belief in true democracy, a fraternity of peoples, the dignity of the individual, and the necessity that our magnificent scientific and technical equipment be managed for the good of all rather than the profit and power of a few.

Today we may for various reasons be constrained to express our political answers to these questions by other means than nominating Socialist candidates. But with the help we expect from expanding membership and an awakening of American voters out of apathy, we shall press on in our struggle to create a meaningful realignment of our political parties. What socialism has to offer, judge for yourselves from the statements that follow.

Norman Thomas



DR. ERICH FROMM, psychoanalyst, author: *Escape from Freedom*, *Man for Himself*, *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, *The Sane Society*, etc. Has lectured at the University of Frankfurt, Bennington College, Columbia University, Yale University and has been chairman of the faculty at the William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry.

Why Join the SP-SDF?

BECAUSE the SP-SDF is uniquely capable of acting as the intellectual and moral conscience of America. It is a voice that speaks of the realities of our life; it penetrates through the fog of fictions and irrelevancies now obscuring those realities.

Man is on the verge of the most crucial choice he has ever made. Will he use his skill and brain to make a world designed to encourage the fullest possible realization of his potentialities, a world of joy and creativity? Or will he make a world which will destroy him, if not with atomic bombs, then with boredom and emptiness?

Most people today believe that we can choose only between a capitalist society or a Khrushchevist managerial society. Socialists believe that there is a way out of this dilemma: the establishment of a truly democratic industrial society, centered not around things but around human beings, their hopes and dreams.

Socialism differs from other party programs in that it has a vision, an ideal for a better, more human society than the present one. Socialism not only wants to improve this or that defect of capitalism; it wants to accomplish something which does not yet exist; it aims at a goal which transcends the given empirical social reality, yet which is based on a real potentiality. Socialists have a vision and say "this is what we want; this is what we strive for. It is not the absolute and the final—but it is a much better, more human form of life." It is the

realization of the ideals of humanism which have inspired the greatest achievements of Western and Eastern culture.

Many will say that people do not want ideals, that they do not want to go beyond the frame of reference in which they live. We socialists believe that, on the contrary, people have a deep longing for something they can look for, work for, have faith in. Man's whole vitality depends on the fact that he transcends the routine part of his existence, that he strives for fulfillment of a vision that is not impossible for him to realize. If he has no chance to strive for a rational, humanistic vision, eventually, worn out and frustrated by the boredom of his life, he falls prey to the irrational and satanic visions of dictators and demagogues. It is exactly the weakness of present day capitalism that it offers no ideals, that it demands no faith, that it has no vision except more of the same.

We socialists are not ashamed to confess that we have a deep faith in man and in a vision of a new, human form of society. In urging our fellow citizens to share our vision and our attempt to realize it, we appeal to their imagination, faith, and hope. We offer them not merely a social-economic and political program, but a human program: the realization of the ideals of humanism under the conditions of an industrial society.



WILLIAM O. HART, President Local 197, International Typographical Union, AFL-CIO, delegate to the Janesville, Wisc. Central Labor Council, former delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor; 30 years an active trade unionist. Educated at the University of Maine, the University of Missouri and Bangor Theological Seminary.

Why Join the SP-SDF?

I JOINED because socialism is the most effective means of fulfilling the practical goals and great ideals of the labor movement.

Trade Unions were formed to win a better life for workers, not by begging, not by charity, not by the effort of kind friends, but by the independent action of workers themselves through their own organizations. The labor movement arises as democracy in action; it needs democracy for itself; it strives for democracy in society. And socialism means democracy in all its fullness.

In our country, we enjoy *political* democracy and are determined never to permit it to be destroyed. Yet, we allow it to be limited and restricted. A small class of rich men owns the great industries of our nation and operates them for its own private profit: such is the capitalist system. And through their control of industry and great wealth they dominate newspapers, radio and T.V., and the major political parties. We have millions of people; but they have millions of dollars. We have our democracy at the polls but the owners of industry have their dictatorship in the shops. Unions fight to bring a little measure of democracy into the workplace. Socialism proposes to do it all the way. Full democracy is possible only when the big industries are taken out of the hands of a small group of monopolists and capitalists and put under the ownership and control of democratic government and democratic people's organizations.

Right now, I think that the Socialist Party has real meaning for those like myself who are active in the labor movement. I am proud of my own union, the International Typographical Union, which is one of the most decent and democratic in the world. But in some places racketeers are able to pervert and misuse unions for their own sordid purposes. In others, members are deprived of their rights by an arbitrary officialdom. Too often, even the decent and democratic unions let conservative politicians, ward heeling bosses, and their friends dominate the political destiny of our nation.

By helping to build the SP-SDF, we are creating an effective force for education toward independent labor political action, honest and idealistic unionism, for militant policies, and for democracy in labor. In so doing, we help the labor movement achieve those ends for which it was founded.



DR. WILLIAM C. DAVIDON, nuclear physicist, Argonne National Laboratories, President of the Chicago Chapter of the Federation of American Scientists, member of the National Planning Association's Committee for Security Through Arms Control and co-author of the NPA study, "1970 Without Arms Control."

Why Join the SP-SDF?

BECAUSE present international policies, in spite of exchanges of words and smiles, are taking us toward mass death. Our cities are being transformed into potential crematoriums; all who live in them may be turned into boiling dismembered masses within less than an hour by the decisions of a few men in a submarine, a bomber, or a missile base. Both major parties identify the indiscriminate slaughter of populations with "Defense"; neither seriously challenged the decision recently made to assist other countries to rely on nuclear weapons; neither has protested the intensified development of biological and chemical poisons and the indoctrination of the public to accept them. A few, primarily in the Democratic Party, have made mild protests; yet even Senator Humphrey was easily convinced of the necessity of providing nuclear weapons information and equipment for the rearming of West Germany and others. And beyond words, there is a lack of the tangible events that would be taking place if intentions for changing the course of present developments were seriously founded. Support of those with a mere facade of concern in a situation which calls for major change is not realism.

Why join the SP-SDF? Because people in large areas of the world are moving forward, challenging the talents and efforts of men to constructively apply their understanding and productivity. We could be part of this frontier society, sharing in the vigor and purpose that

comes from battling disease, hunger, illiteracy, from harnessing rivers, from building homes and schools. Our nation, if it were true to its heritage, would offer leadership to this changing world. Yet our society has been unable to cope with its local abundance. In a starving world, we have left idle over the past five years more than one hundred billion dollars of industrial potential. We squander hundreds of millions of dollars in yearly changes in the shapes of our cars, not to mention the ten thousand dollars that the average U.S. family has spent on the cold war. In a world as increasingly interdependent as ours, the essential needs are for international solidarity, the sharing of aspirations, creativity and labor. They cannot be met by men inculcated with lusts for draining from their society all that they can.

We cannot act imaginatively and creatively in the world today, we cannot meet the possibilities of our times, we certainly cannot resolve the international crisis that afflicts us, so long as we remain stultified by a social and economic system that awards greed and avarice, honors oppression, ennobles waste. If we wish to lead the world to freedom, we first must free ourselves. Neither of the two old parties shows the slightest capacity for the creative thinking and action that is needed. Democratic socialism offers a way forward.

Science can assist us in making us vividly aware of what is reality and what only passes by that name. It provides us with an example of men with goals transcending their personal lives working together all over the world, building from one generation to the next. As a scientist I have learned that objectivity and reality are not established by bisecting the range in the thoughts of others. In coping with revolutionary events, radical responses are the only realistic ones. Though others may decide how and when we may die, we can choose how we live, and whether to work with others to enlarge the opportunities, the dignity, and the scope of our lives.



BETTY LOU BURLEIGH, member of the National Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, graduate student in Anthropology at University of Washington, B.A., University of Pittsburgh, member of the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League, youth section of the SP-SDF.

Why Join the SP-SDF?

BECAUSE today the slogans of democracy and equality that the United States exports for foreign consumption still have no real meaning for millions of American Negroes. The threat of violence hovers intimidatingly over masses of Southern Negroes. Fear of physical, social or economic reprisal has up to this day kept the majority of Negroes away from Southern voting polls, with the result that they are almost totally without representation in the national government. In many Southern states, Senators and Governors are elected by fewer votes than the number of disfranchised Negroes.

In the nation that regards itself as the historical culmination of civilized democracy, there is no federal law against lynching. Even after the body of Mack Parker is recovered from a muddy river, battered and bleached, the President of the United States can remark that he sees "no need for new legislation."

The Supreme Court, having declared for the principle of school desegregation, declines to put teeth in its ruling. After five years, no move toward desegregation has been made in the deep South, and Negro children are still being turned out to face a hostile world with the extra handicap of inadequate education.

In other parts of the country, subtler but equally malign forms of racial segregation and discrimination

prevail. In our major industrial centers powerful interests bar the Negro and other minority groups from decent housing, creating overcrowded slum ghettos which, in turn, lead to virtual (though unannounced) discrimination in schools and other areas of life. Negro and other minority workers are paid lower wages, by one third, than white workers, and the ratio of unemployment among non-whites is double that among whites.

We do not think that the Negro should tolerate this situation until some people have a "change of heart." We salute the courageous struggle of the NAACP. We heartily support mass action projects like the Montgomery Bus Protest, the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington, and the Youth Marches for Integrated Schools. Above all, we look to the day when the great mass of Negroes will mobilize for independent political action.

Why join the SP-SDF? Because the Negro has been betrayed by both political parties, and cannot look to either of them as they are presently constituted. The Republican Party is, in the main, inextricably tied to Big Business—and the elevation of the Negro means an end to his exploitation, to the cheap labor market from which Big Business draws heavy profits. Victory for the Democratic Party—even its liberal wing—means keeping the Southern racists in their Congressional Committee Chairmanships.

Congress is ruled by a coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans who have combined to frustrate not only the advance of the Negro people, but also the fight of the labor movement for decent living and working conditions. We socialists believe the answer is for Negroes and trade unionists and their progressive minded allies to join together and force political realignment in the United States, a real second party without the Eastlands, Russells, and Johnsons. Such a party can organize the democratic forces in the South, the millions of disfranchised Negroes and poor whites; it can overturn the reactionary minority coalition and move toward the establishment of real democracy in the United States.

The SP-SDF has never faltered in its defense of the right of all people to live a decent life. For today, it offers Negroes an instrument to bring about political realignment and give decency a voice in our nation's public affairs. For tomorrow, it offers the hope of a social system in which no minority will find it necessary to struggle for the common rights of human beings.



MURRAY KEMPTON, newspaperman, columnist *New York Post*, author of *Part of Our Time*, graduate of Johns Hopkins University, member of the American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO.

Why Join the SP-SDF?

I HAVE come home to the Socialist Party (SP-SDF) because I cannot conceive of living out my life in a world without hope.

The ideal of democratic socialism has often been defeated in the world; it has never died. It has been harder to kill than any notion which moved great numbers of men at the beginning of this century. We have just concluded one of the darkest decades in human history; yet almost every light we have had toward something better has been held up in that night by a democratic socialist. Those Hungarian intellectuals who began this decade's bravest display of the human spirit thought of themselves as struggling back toward democratic socialism. If Boris Pasternak is anything, he is a democratic socialist. When Milovan Djilas went off to Tito's prison, he was asked to identify himself and this man, without rank or trade, answered simply and proudly: "Social Democrat." And they are all men who will return because they are the guardians of man's future. Looking at them, we know that America, its life, its politics, its very voice, is governed by a dead idea. Few men worth their salt in all time have been moved long by the dream of personal private avarice; no men worth their salt are moved any longer by it today. The Voice of America is a dead echo, because the dream is dead, and the very voices are the voices of the dead played on a worn record with a broken needle left there by an engineer who went out to lunch and never came back.

I have tried living for eighteen years outside the

ideal of democratic socialism. It worked as badly in my case as it has worked in the case of my country. I feel as though I have returned to the family of the human species.



JOIN THE SP-SDF TODAY

To join the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, fill out the membership application blank on the opposite page and mail it with your dues to the National Office, SP-SDF, 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

National annual dues are \$12.00; special dues (for those not gainfully employed) are \$3.00; dual dues (for husband and wife) are \$14.00. Those preferring to do so, may remit only \$1.00 with their application. The remainder of their national dues will be collected monthly or quarterly by the Treasurer of their local branch, or by the national office if the applicant lives in an unorganized area.

The SP-SDF has a national youth and student section, the Young People's Socialist League, for young people between the ages of 14 and 25. Young persons in this age group will be sent free information and an application blank for membership in the Y.P.S.L. upon request.

Friends of the SP-SDF who are not yet prepared to apply for membership are urged to contribute to the work of the Party. Those who wish to may contribute regularly by pledging a stated sum to the SP-SDF Pledge Plan, to be paid monthly for a period of 12 months. Reminders are sent each month to contributors to the Pledge Plan.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Name.....
Address.....
City.....Zone.....State.....
Occupation.....Age.....
Organizations to which you belong.....

I, the undersigned, desiring to bring about a democratic socialist society in which all exploitation of man by man has been abolished, hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. In all my political actions while a member of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, I agree to abide by its Constitution, decisions and principles.

Signature.....Date.....

CLIP AND MAIL

- ☐ I want to join the SP-SDF. Enclosed are my filled out application and dues.
☐ I am interested in the Young People's Socialist League. Please send me free information.
☐ I do not wish to join but I would like to contribute to your work. Enclosed find my donation of \$.....
☐ I would like to pledge \$..... to be contributed monthly for 12 months. Enclosed is my first payment.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....
STATE.....

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